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Social Work — Twelve Monographs

WILLIAM A. CLARK, Editor

PUBLISHED BY

Lincoln House, Boston, Massachusetts

Number Five

The Lincoln House Play-Work System

WILLIAM A. CLARK

The Subscription price is **ten cents a copy,** fifty cents for the first group of six, or **seventy-five cents** for the complete set of twelve numbers.

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THE LINCOLN HOUSE

PLAY-WORK SYSTEM

BY

WILLIAM A. CLARK

HEAD WORKER, GORDON HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

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Nov. 5, 697.

Boston
PRESS OF T. W. RIPLEY CO.
1902

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Lincoln House.
August 14, 1902

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The Lincoln House Play-Work System.

CHAPTER I.

The elaborate system of handicrafts at Lincoln House was begun in a simple way about nine years ago. We started with some carpentry classes. The boys were first taught mechanical drawing. They were required to draw a plan of the model, and then make the model, working from the plan. The theory was no doubt correct; but our classes dwindled. For something like three years we struggled with only partial success. In the meantime, the boys were teaching us a great deal. We discovered that they did like to make things, and so we came to the conclusion that it was more important that we should arrange an interesting set of things for them to make, than to follow any stereotyped plans of manual training. This has been the key-note of all our work since. All our courses in Arts and Crafts are founded on this one central idea. We have, of course, observed the sloyd principle of a progression of models, that is, working from the simple to the complex. As we experimented with one craft after another, we were finally confronted with the fact that we had no plan of handicrafts for the younger children. Out of this need, the final conception came of having an ascending scale of creative work from the kindergarten, which was already established, up to the most advanced

furniture making for boys, or dressmaking, etc., for girls. We have planned, therefore, an unbroken chain of creative work, interesting both to boys and girls from the kindergarten age, up to the age of eighteen.

In the schedule given below, I have endeavored to show how our play-work system, as planned, has been carried out; just what a boy or girl could take at Lincoln House, after leaving the kindergarten. It will be observed that there is considerable co-ordination in creative work. I do not wish to suggest here, that this progressive system of handicraft work offers a solution to the manual training problem of the public schools. That the experiment which we are making may be of value to the student of public school education is not unlikely. At present, however, we offer it simply as something better than an amateur scheme for organizing the play instinct in children out of school hours.

Child, 3 to 6 — Kindergarten: includes manual work in

(1) Clay.
(2) Parquetry.
(3) Cutting
(4) Folding.
(5) Drawing.
(6) Sewing.
(7) Weaving.
(8) Perforating.
(9) Pasting.
(10) Painting.

Boy, 6 to 8 — Advanced kindergarten course in clay.

Boy, 8 to 10 — Course III, clay, perhaps varied with paper sloyd.

Boy, 10 to 11 — Simple fret work, varied with Course II in paper sloyd or Course IV in clay.

Boy, 11 to 12 — Fret work, Course II, varied with Course I in cardboard sloyd, special work in clay or free-hand drawing.

Boy, 12 to 13 — Wood sloyd, Course II, in cardboard, free-hand drawing, advanced course in clay.
* (Two classes only.)

Boy, 13 to 14 — Simple cabinet making, wood carving, Venetian iron work, basket making, printing, lettering, drawing, water color work.
* (Two classes only.)

Boy, 14 to 18 — Cabinet making (large piece of furniture), leather work, lettering (advanced), printing (advanced), weaving (wicker chair or other piece of furniture), electro-mechanical course, fancy leather work, water color work (advanced), drawing (advanced).
* (Two classes a year only.)

Progressive course for girls after leaving the Kindergarten: —

Girl, 6 to 8 — Simple paper work, clay modeling.
Girl, 8 to 10 — Simple sewing, paper sloyd.
Girl, 10 to 12 — Course II in paper sloyd, simple embroidery, simple crocheting, drawing. (Only two classes.)
Girl, 12 to 13 — Mending, knitting, embroidery (advanced), drawing, water color work, fret work. (Only two classes.)
Girl, 13 to 15 — Wood sloyd, "home cooking" supplementing the public school course (simple nutritious dishes), basket making. (Only two classes.)
Girl, 15 to 18 — Dressmaking, millinery, knotting course, embroidery. (Only one class a year.)

NOTE. — Three or four of these classes are discontinued for the present, for lack of room or for other reasons.

* Equivalent to three evenings.

CHAPTER II.

That these hand-working classes are popular there can be no doubt; and yet the work is done in the presence of certain handicaps which it may be of interest to mention. In the first place, there is no similar district in any city in the world so rich in social enterprises as the section of the South End of Boston corresponding to the Lincoln House district. There are four theatres within three, and eleven within ten minutes' walk of the House. Then, besides, the district is only a short distance from the very heart of the business section. It can hardly be called, therefore, a quiet residential quarter. There is a great variety of appeal, in other words, and much to distract the attention, in the character of the neighborhood itself, from the quiet, simple pleasures offered by our Handicraft Guild.

There is another handicap, incident to the building itself. No impulse to the growth of this work has come through the influence of fine shops. As a matter of fact, most of it has been done in our two cellars, which, whitewashed and divided off into six shops, look picturesque enough on a class night, but leave much to be desired in cleanliness, ventilation and space. In the clay modeling room, which is 9 x 12, there are two benches and sixteen boys. This shop is also used on certain nights for fret work, and on other nights for Venetian iron work. Cleanliness, which is

justly considered one of the cardinal principles of sloyd, of necessity can only be partially observed. Work not done in the shops has been done in the club rooms; but these are used for a variety of purposes, and of course, do not have the appearance of shops. Then, besides, the models cannot be hung on the walls, and the articles made have to be stored. There is no atmosphere of the work done there. This latter disadvantage is considerable, for atmosphere does influence children as well as grown folks — the more so, since they are controlled so much more by mere feeling and example.

Notwithstanding these handicaps — and we have stated them in order to give this fact the importance it deserves — the classes are very popular. The average attendance is about 88 per cent., somewhat better than that of the gymnasium; and this fact is the more interesting since the House has a splendid gymnasium and a popular instructor. Last fall, for instance, every class, with one or two exceptions, was full and most of them had a long waiting list. Night after night, these children on the waiting list came, sometimes a large room full of them, making the most persuasive appeals to be allowed "to b'long." In consequence of such a demand for places, a rigid rule had to be made, namely, that those absent from their classes twice in succession should lose their places.

The boys, I am sure, are attracted to these classes not only because of their interest in making things, but because of the spirit which prevails in the place. To this end, we have been very careful in selecting

the right kind of teachers, — teachers of social capacity as well as manual skill, tactful in trusting boys much, wise in building up a cordial "shop fellowship" and pride of craft, capable of imparting much enthusiasm. The boys need very little "watching"; as a matter of fact, the only discipline we have any faith in is the discipline of interesting occupation. Under these circumstances, each class is a social group. The work is work, yet not work, but play. No more interesting sight can meet your eye than these boys at work. Their restless energy, so abounding, is employed in making things. They are happy; a new dignity is, therefore, bred, for no boy can make things, real to him, without added self-respect. The boys are allowed to chatter and laugh as much as they please, so long as they keep at work; there is no coercion, — no background of fear; each boy is there because he wants to be there. Each boy is eager to show his work, happy when it earns praise, — evidence sufficient of its realty for him, of its power to mould his spirit.

Visitors, on going through the shops, invariably exclaim, "How earnest they are! how they seem to like it!" The old cellar has been to many of us for several years past the most interesting spot in the House.

The character of the models is another important fact to consider in explanation of the popularity of these classes. There is great danger in work of this kind in having the models too difficult. The utmost care should be taken to select articles useful in the

home or to the boy himself. Things that have artistic and educational value in the estimation of certain classes of people the children may not like at all nor wish to make. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the need of study and invention at this point; of discovering things of value in the eyes of the boys, — things they can make and things which, when made, they will wish to possess. Again, particularly in the younger classes, models should be selected with special reference to the facility with which they can be made. There ought to be a few models, for instance, in every course which could be made in one or, at least, two evenings. We must never forget that it is play-work; that these classes are of the highest value and abiding in their attractiveness only so long as they are based on the play instinct in children. We expect our instructors, therefore, to watch every manifestation of self-activity or invention on the part of the boys, of honest approval or disapproval. Any sign of origination, of a desire to make something not in the course, if at all practicable, is encouraged. Our instructors are there to teach the boys; they are also there to learn from them. In the light of such experience, the models of any course should be changing all the time. For a boy to wish to make something not down in the course is not infrequently a healthy sign; in which case, it is an opportunity to be grasped. To have a system of good models is most important; it represents purpose; "extra work," if unsuggested by the teacher, may be even more important, since from its spontaneity it may preserve that

element of play, which is always in some danger of being crowded out.

Another feature which makes our play-work system popular with the boys and girls is the spring exhibition. It usually occurs the first week in April, and occupies the entire gymnasium. It is the most important event in the House calendar. All our educational efforts converge towards this festival. Aside from the models, the work is exclusively that of the boys and girls. A boy is guided and instructed, but the work itself is done by him. It is, as a consequence, an educational exhibit, and not a mere spectacle. With the gradual increase of creative classes, the exhibition has become more interesting from year to year. In arranging the articles (in the neighborhood, last year, of twenty-five hundred altogether) we begin with the kindergarten exhibit and, as far as possible, place them in such fashion as to show the ascending scale of creative work involved in our play-work system.

Such an exhibition brings together a lot of people, who have been working for months previous, in diverse materials and with a great variety of tools, but with the common aim of producing something of merit. There is, of course, a great deal of mutual admiration, but so long as its effect is to stimulate pride and an ambition to do something well, we can see only good in it. Furthermore, this large exhibition of articles, representing much labor in shop and class, carries with it a fellowship of work and tends to bring out in strong relief the dignity and pleasure of creative work.

To see boys stand, as I have, beside their work, in mute rapture, eager to catch the passing comments of visitors, is a mental photograph never to be effaced.

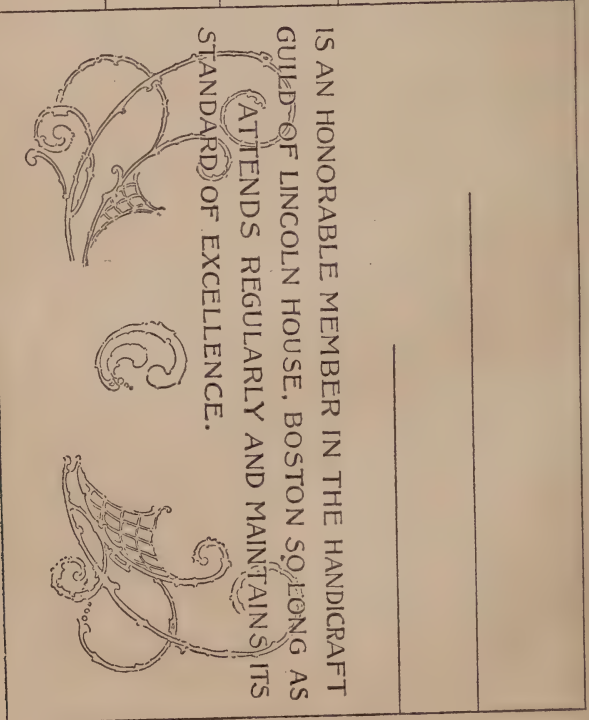
After the exhibition, the boys are allowed to take their things home. It is simply delicious to watch the eagerness with which they collect and bear them away. The value that they place upon them is a good criterion of the value of the work itself. In order to test this appreciation, I offered at one time to sell the articles which the boys had made, giving them a good percentage of the proceeds. After making the proposition, I went away, giving them a whole evening to consider it. Without a dissenting voice they refused to sell their things. It is a fact no less interesting that the mothers appreciate these things as much as the boys themselves.

Aside from the monthly Guild dues, no class fees are imposed, nor is there any charge for material. It is not altogether sophistry to say of a boy, who has worked a long time on his Morris chair, hall seat or other big piece of furniture, that he has earned it; for it is not unlikely that its achievement has cost him more of earnestness and purpose, more of himself, than anything else he has ever done.

As a matter of fact, the boys do, in effect, pay a fee, but a voluntary one. Without any urging, they have contributed a large proportion of their work, which is salable, to the Fair, now held sometime subsequent to the exhibition. In this they have shown a most delightful spirit, since (as noted above, and almost without exception) they have no wish to sell their things for personal gain; but they are willing to have them sold, if in this way they are enabled to contribute something for the new building.

The Handicraft Guild, with its boys' chapter and its girls' chapter, has proven an interesting supplementary feature of these classes. The children think so much of their card, or certificate of membership, that I have thought best to print it below.

NOV.	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MARCH.


IS AN HONORABLE MEMBER IN THE HANDICRAFT
GUILD OF LINCOLN HOUSE, BOSTON SO LONG AS
ATTENDS REGULARLY AND MAINTAINS ITS
STANDARD OF EXCELLENCE.

The dues of this Society are low, — five cents a month, — to enable even the poorest child to belong. Prompt payment of dues is required. In fact, a paid-up card must be presented at the door at all the entertainments of the Guild. Not only so, but back dues must be paid up before a child can register in the fall. We find that charging little, and requiring that little to be paid, has made the Guild more, rather than less, popular.

Promotion cards are given at the end of the year to those who have done good work and have a rank of 85 per cent. in attendance. Certain elective classes are set down on each card, but from this list one is selected and advised as being the best. These cards are prepared with care and after much consultation with teachers. In advising a class, the principle of co-ordination is, of course, kept specially in mind. Holders of promotion cards, as a reward, are given the two first registration days in the fall. In this way old members who do not get these cards must take their chances on the general registration night with outsiders, and as the demand for places is much greater than the supply, not a few are, perforce, taught a most salutary lesson.

A very handsome diploma is given at the minimum age of fourteen to those who have done three years' good work. If a boy, reaching the age of fourteen, has been in attendance three years or more and still desires to continue, he is, of course, allowed to do so. The longer he stays, the more valuable his diploma will become, for the number of years which he has

been in attendance and the classes he has finished satisfactorily are noted on the diploma. The wisdom of giving a diploma may be questioned on the ground that it makes the Guild too much like a school, but when you consider that not all our boys and girls get even the diploma of a grammar school, you will see how attractive this feature of the Guild really is.

Aside from the closing exercises in the spring, which are made as impressive as possible, there is an annual meeting in January for the election of officers, and a supper, which the boys still persist in calling a banquet. To this social function the alumni are also invited. The Guild has enough that is tangible about it on the one hand, and is gradually accumulating enough that is ceremonial on the other, to appeal to young people.

CHAPTER III.

THE ETHICAL SIDE.

That these hand-working classes meet a fundamental educational need of city boys generally is our growing conviction; that they meet the special needs of children in the more crowded parts of the city is equally true. To recall a few important and suggestive facts to your attention will make this plain. Not only so, but the whole ethical argument lies therein. The city boy has few "chores" to perform which minister to the comfort and well-being of the family, for the coal is not infrequently purchased by the basket, the wood by the bundle; the provision dealer is just around the corner. There are no animals to be cared for, and seldom any pets. The lack of these homely chores is a great educational loss to the city boy, for they teach in a perfectly natural way lessons of responsibility. Except in the case of the boys who sell papers or do odd jobs,— comparatively few in number, — children have, outside of school hours, a great deal of leisure. But there are few playgrounds. As a rule, the only places in which to play are the streets, or, by some lucky chance, a vacant lot. Boys who play baseball, football, or other similar games in the street will sooner or later come into conflict with the police. You cannot blame the boys; nevertheless, it is surely demoralizing. The third simple but significant fact that we must reflect upon is this: boys living

in the crowded parts of cities seldom have the use of any sort of tools. In a word, there is almost nothing in their environment which furnishes material and encouragement for the free play of the constructive impulse. The tendency in most boys to "fool," to make light of all serious effort, to break, whether it is law, windows, or what-not, becomes abnormal for the lack of what Chalmers would have called, "the expulsive power of a new affection."

As we have suggested, the situation is not one to condemn but to manage. It calls for patience and invention. "Back to the soil," even as a theory, is no longer convincing.

In our play-work system, we are creating for our boys, in some sense, a new environment. We are giving them a chance to employ their hands in a useful way. Boys love to make things as well as break them, and every time a boy creates something which he values he is just so much the less likely to break something which somebody else possesses and values. It is our belief that this instinct for construction, innate in every normal child, should be recognized and ministered to. We cannot help feeling that every boy has a *right* to tools, by virtue of his needs. Give the average boy a wise teacher and tools and you have turned his irrepressible energy from acts of lawlessness (largely incident to the chance of his situation and regarding which he is helpless) into channels of construction, self-knowledge and self-mastery.

I have already alluded to the added self-respect which must come to a boy who creates something of

value. If the article is of definite use in the home, so much the better. The appreciation of his own family, the pleasant comments of neighbors, make the boy feel that he is worth something. The more things he makes of utility or beauty, the more he will earn appreciation, and the more likely it is that he will wish to continue doing things which deserve appreciation. The most restless, mischievous sort of a boy is not infrequently, given the chance, caught with the love of making things, and wonderfully sobered thereby. To get the boy to do something of real value, and which *he knows* to be of real value, how important it is, and how it taxes the resources of the educator, — his powers of invention; how much of wisdom and not infrequently of guile it takes. Sometimes one feels like a "moral plotter," as if he were laying a trap for a boy for his own good, in the hope that perchance he may be surprised into a respect for his own gifts through some piece of creative work. I have referred to this quality of self-respect, so closely related to constructive work, since it is so fundamental in all ethical training.

There are certain other qualities which I should like to refer to in passing, not as a theorist, but as an educator and observer. So many mental tasks may be half done, or poorly done, and leave very little impression, because illusive, the results not being perceived in any very tangible way through the senses. It is not so with creative work. The essential moral history of the child is written on his piece of work: if he is careless, it will appear; if he is slovenly, bad-

tempered or slothful, these traits will write themselves on his work. The teacher will not only have knowledge of the boy, but the boy will have knowledge of himself. Herein lies the great moral opportunity of the teacher of handicrafts. Not only so, but the importance of preserving the play element in his work is here manifest. The boy's faults, hardly ever corrected by being "pointed out," may, through work done from the play impulse, and the attractiveness of the shop fellowship, gradually and unconsciously be lost. And the beauty of it all is, that it is natural; and the strength of it all is, that good habits are forming.

This play-work system is important for still another reason. The connection between the public schools and the subsequent occupations of the majority of our boys and girls is by no means close. This is a fact which has been much commented upon of late, and it is a fact painfully familiar to settlement and club workers. The public schools do much: the volume of instruction in sewing, cooking, wood sloyd, cardboard construction, etc., is yearly increasing. Then there is the Mechanic Arts High School; but, as a matter of fact, many boys are unable to finish the grammar school, the necessity of earning money presses upon them so hard. Very few, certainly not over five per cent., are able to attend a high school, even if they have continued in the grammar school long enough to graduate. There is altogether too little manual training, too little help given, therefore, to those boys and girls who must eventually earn their living by their hands. Our young people who learn

to fashion in clay, to paint, to weave, or to work in wood, iron, metal, leather, etc., using a great variety of tools, as they must, will, we hope, be better fitted to enter upon some mechanical pursuit than those who are without such training. In many cases, a boy will find out what he can do best, and, even if it is not a trade, he is going to be more self-reliant, have more of judgment, whatever he undertakes, simply from having done certain definite things well. The necessities of his home may require him to take the first job which offers, but he has, as a matter of fact, acquired power, adaptability; he has already accomplished something; and for this very reason he has greater self-knowledge and self-confidence, more of purpose in his life. He is less likely, for this training, to keep on doing something just for the pay, and where there is little to learn and little chance of enlargement. As a matter of fact, I have noticed a growing disposition on the part of those of our boys who have done considerable work in our handicraft classes, to be willing to sacrifice a temporary gain for a future good; to accept a place with very small wages, if it would give them a chance to learn a trade or a business in which there would be promotion later on.

CHAPTER IV.

THE "HANDICRAFT GUILD" AS A FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

The Handicraft Guild, as a form of organization for boys and girls, or for boys alone, resting upon some plan of play-work, possesses elements of strength fundamental in character. It is sufficiently elastic to be incorporated into a settlement, institutional boys' club, or to stand independently, particularly if supplemented by certain social features.

In the first place, handicraft work is as popular with boys (if rightly done) as any club occupation known to the writer, not excepting gymnastics. Another element of strength: the boys enter the Guild through the classes, and remain in the Guild only so long as they attend regularly and do good work. The waiting list of boys, anxious to fill any vacancy that may occur, affords a healthy spur.

In the ordinary boys' club, the struggle to find "things to do," amusements that will prove successful, uses up about all the energy of workers. Then, besides, a few bold spirits may taboo the plan one has been at much pains to work out, and that from sheer capriciousness. In the Guild, as noted, the beginning is made at the other end: the classes are arranged, and only the boys who really want *them* join the Guild.

Again, — and I am always assuming well-arranged classes, inspiring, capable teachers and plenty of shop fellowship, — the boys not only like this work, but, in simple, unconscious fashion, it is organizing in them good habits — habits of industry, accuracy, neatness; implanting the love of construction and thus destroying in them the spirit of lawlessness; and, for the same reason, teaching them greater respect for property. * Above all this, handicraft work strikes into the very citadel of a boy's moral life by strengthening his self-respect. † There is, then, a background of serious, definite work, strongly attractive, nevertheless, to boys, and giving the Guild a dignity not possessed by the boys' club, founded largely on the amusement idea.

At St. George's School, New York City, they have a most excellent scheme of supervision which would work well in the Guild, particularly if planned to stand alone and without many social features. There is a supervisor for each class, usually a young man of cultivation. He comes to the school in the evening early enough to have a chat with the boys before work begins; then he finds out if any are absent. If there are any absent, he hunts them up; goes to their homes; if sick or in trouble, stops to cheer them up; if absent because of discouragement or for any other reason, he enters into the boys' difficulties as sympathetically as possible, and seeks, without coaxing, to win them back. In this way he stands as the group's

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* See page 17. † See pages 16, 17, 18.

social leader and friend, and yet without lessening the teacher's authority or curtailing his moral opportunity. Indeed, he supplements the teacher, who would not have the time to do the work that he does, and yet work which it is so extremely important to do.

Such a guild can be, if necessary, subdivided into chapters, the division made either on some principle of age or craft. Features of the old guilds can be introduced gradually. Indeed, the mediæval guilds represent rich sources of craft traditions, which may be borrowed and applied in a variety of ways. Supplementing the classes of the Guild, which should always remain first in importance, a gymnasium may be added, occasional plays given, etc.

To conclude: the models and courses of our Lincoln House play-work system are not ideal, we do not offer them as such; with added experience, they will be replaced by better ones. The "project idea," with its greater possibilities of invention, will doubtless modify our plan; but this we do believe, that, although the form and expression of the idea will change, the idea itself is good and abiding, and especially so as it meets a permanent need of the city boy.

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HEAD WORKER, GORDON HOUSE

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Lincoln House.
August 14, 1902.

PREFACE.

The present monograph has been prepared from printed reports, former articles by the writer, data gathered from personal visits to Boys' Clubs in many places, and from answers to lists of questions sent to Club and Settlement leaders. Many of these personal reports, perhaps forty, are elaborate and painstaking. However inadequate the result, therefore, the author's thanks are due to all who sent in papers, and particularly to Mr. Clarence Gordon, of East Side House, Mr. E. S. Mason, of the Bunker Hill Boys' Club, and Mr. George Hamilton Dean, Secretary of the Association of Organized Work with Boys.

The rapid increase of Boys' Clubs, particularly during the past five years, in itself indicates their importance. Viewed rightly, they represent an educational opportunity. Is not the present danger of Boys' Clubs the over-emphasis of the amusement idea, the tendency to pamper boys, to rob them of their power of initiative, in the laudable but over-anxious endeavor to "win them"? The true club leader is an educator, nothing less. Good comrade, inventive in furnishing "good times" and enriching social life, he must be; but these multiform club activities, under his guidance, minister to one clear end, — the cultivation of self-respect and the art of coöperation. A club has not fulfilled its mission unless the boys, through its influence, are stimulated with a desire "to be something," caught with the love, and taught something of the art, of social service.

The writer would be glad to receive suggestions, further contributions, and criticisms, since a second and larger edition may be prepared.

WILLIAM A. CLARK.

New York, February 1st.

BOYS' CLUBS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTIVE — TYPICAL LARGE CLUBS.

THE first boys' club in America* was started in 1876, with the organization of the club until recently occupying rooms at 125 St. Mark's Place, New York City. In 1883 the Boys' Free Reading Rooms were opened in the same city. The next year the Rev. John C. Collins organized a club in New Haven, Connecticut. Through his influence, others were started in some of the manufacturing towns of New England, — about twenty in all. Mr. Collins, in his "Temple Builder" of April, 1894, has described his Boys' Club plan in detail. His description is even so minute as to locate the washbowl and stove in his plan, and indicate the exact number of times a boy must be spoken to before being ejected. Since this plan has been the model of many of the large clubs, particularly in New England, it is important in this paper to describe its salient features. Any boy in the city could be admitted to the club. The paid workers consisted of the door-keeper, the

* The Salem Fraternity, Salem, Mass., started in 1869 as a reading room for boys, with certain club features, has some claim to this honor.

librarian and the superintendent. Owing to the large numbers present during the club session, the superintendent, of necessity, walked about the room as a moral policeman. Occasionally, visitors from the various churches came to assist by playing games with the boys. Later, a few industrial classes, such as carpentry, wood-carving, cobbling, type-setting, etc., were added. A Penny Savings Bank was one of the leading features of this sort of club.

The club was also, to some extent, a field for religious effort on the part of the church visitors and the superintendent. The superintendent visited the Police Court, often taking charge of boys placed on probation or finding homes for needy boys, — work which in our larger cities is now done by the officers of the various Children's Aid Societies. Of course, the equipment included, among other things, a piano, books, games and a generous supply of tables and benches. It will thus be readily seen that the boys' club of twenty years ago was a very simple affair. It should further be added that the type of club to which it belongs has not materially changed. The plan certainly has the virtue of being clean-cut, practical and inexpensive. For instance, Mr. Collins estimated that the minimum annual expense of such a club would be about $2,000. It has not been hard, because of the very definiteness of such a club, with its formal programme, to secure young men of moral earnestness and business push as superintendents. Finally, with this plan, it is possible to have an exceedingly large membership. This in itself, how-

ever fallacious it may be in individual cases, is a strong feature in the minds of many. It particularly appeals to business men.

Of all these clubs patterned after Mr. Collins' plan, the one at Fall River has been the most fortunate, and is, perhaps, the best managed. Three years ago a building was erected at a cost of $85,000, the gift of a mill owner. It contains a reception room, a reading room, class rooms, a theatre, a small gymnasium, bowling alleys, shower baths and a swimming tank. The club programme includes classes in carpentry, printing, cobbling, elocution and parliamentary law. The boys have also a glee club and dramatic company. The principal sources of amusement of the club are: the swimming tank, the gymnasium and bowling alleys, the game room and the Saturday-night entertainments. The house is open every night, and on Sunday afternoons for choral singing.

The Boys' Club of 161 Avenue A, New York City, is not only the oldest, but is also the largest club in America. It had an enrollment, last year, of 7,000 boys. It has, therefore, influenced the character of many boys' clubs in New York City. This club has its own House. The building, constructed at an expense of $150,000 (the most elaborate for boys in the world), is six stories high and overlooks "Tomkins Square," the most thronged of city parks. In the basement are the offices, carpentry shops and shower baths; on the first floor is a great assembly hall, with its movable stage, frequently used as a game room; on the third floor,—the seniors' domain,—

rooms for lectures, billiards, whist, etc.; on the fourth and fifth floors, a gymnasium, running track, small club and class rooms; and, crowning all, "a roof garden."

Aside from the usual institutional features of the club, the boys go in for gymnastics in a fine spirit of emulation, "to the tune of fun and merriment," with the joyous thought that orderly noise is permissible. They are given abundant opportunity of learning to box and wrestle, in the latter art turning out not a few experts. The club belongs to the Amateur Athletic Union and goes in for cricket, association football and baseball. They are fortunate in having a field where these games can be played. The boys are, of course, very proud of the prowess of their various teams.

There are informal classes in carpentry, a number in singing, drawing, natural history, reading, etc. Of these, Mr. Taylor says*: "Such classes and such instruction fall in with the social atmosphere and purpose of the club. Serious classes, manual or intellectual, which demand discipline, punctuality, regular attendance and earnest application, cannot be conducted advantageously in an institution devoted to social recreation and betterment."

The fife and drum corps, the elaborate entertainments gotten up by the boys themselves, and the annual operetta, are still other features which engage the interest and admiration of these much-favored boys. Perhaps the most interesting thing in connection with the club is the camp on Plum Island.

* The writer states this opinion the more readily, since it is contrary to his own experience.

Mr. Tabor, superintendent, says of it: "The camp ran itself and grew, week by week, in comfort and beauty. Walls were whitened and woodwork painted, smooth lawns were carefully kept as clean as carpets, household utensils shone and glistened, floors and windows were cleaned and cleaned again. On the cooler side of the house rose, piece by piece, a pretty piazza, the material for which was carted a full mile from a wreck considerately stranded for our benefit. Chickens and pigeons were well housed and cared for; a tennis court was laid out and a net woven; golf links spread over the low hills, and a diving-board and seats made our excellent bathing beach perfection. Last but not least, a garden, — not a toy garden, but an honest acre, tended and cared for with continuous energy and skill. After July 4th we did not buy a single vegetable, thereby saving at least $10 a week to the club. Every Saturday those who loved the garden bore back with them to the city boxes of lovely flowers and good sweet corn and cucumbers and tomatoes and many other things which never taste so good when the sun and air are frozen out of them. . . . Such a garden on the salt-swept plains of Plum Island is not produced without great labor, and The Boys' Club boys did it all, and never a one was commanded or even asked. . . .

"I have emphasized this particular phase of last summer's camp because it is typical of the change that is coming over the club. If our boys are becoming more unselfish, we cannot doubt that other virtues shall be added unto them, and we may take heart of grace to go forward and extend the work."

Another New York club, run on lines somewhat similar, occupies rooms at 112–114 University Place. This organization, known as the Boys' Free Reading Rooms, under the auspices of the Loyal Legion Temperance Society, was started (to use the language of the Society) "to provide a counter-attraction to the saloons, for the tempted boys of the city." The club was organized in 1883. It has five hundred members. New members are selected from a waiting list prepared by the superintendent. The only dues are "good behavior"; the only rule, "Be a gentleman." The rooms are not only very cheerful and artistic (for the club possesses many valuable pictures), but they are kept as neat as wax. There is a library with a thousand volumes, — good, wholesome stories, such as boys like, — in charge of a trained librarian. The library has two large bulletin-boards, on which the attendant makes exhibits of pictures cut from magazines. Each exhibit has some special theme, such as "Kings and Queens of Europe," "Cuba," "The Philippines," "The Navy," etc. Not only books, but games also are loaned for two weeks. The club has a Penny Provident Fund and a well-organized Employment Bureau.

Entertainments are given every Saturday night, the boys being responsible for the programme once each month. The Annual Declamation Contest, furnishing many good speakers, and the excellent Glee Club, which the boys have organized, make it easy for them to entertain. All public meetings are opened by a salute to the flag, followed by the club cheer. The

most exciting event of the year is the annual election of the three officers of the club, — president, vice-president and second vice-president. The offices are purely honorary, but the election is real. The boys divide themselves into parties, hold preliminary caucuses, have printed ballots and the Australian ballot box; appoint inspectors and, in fact, observe all the details of a public election. While the boys are given a free hand in their elections, they are taught the love of fair play and strict honesty. Two other events of interest in this club are the New Year's Day reception and the annual excursion, to which the parents and sisters of the boys are invited. The rooms are open week nights from 7 to 9.30 o'clock, all the year round. On Sunday evenings a short religious service is held, consisting of a brief talk and plenty of good singing and "whistling."

St. George's Church, New York City, has a large and well-conducted boys' club. The club is composed entirely of boys from the Sunday-school. It is, in this particular, a church club. There is no religious instruction, however, in the club itself. The boys have a constitution, in part originated by themselves. Furthermore, the greater part of the discipline is in the hands of the boys. They have charge of their own rooms through a house-committee, appointed by the president. It lies with the boys, also, to bring charges against unruly members, the executive board fixing the punishment. One of the clergy has, of course, oversight of the club. He is assisted by a group of young men who volunteer their services.

The boys pay fifteen cents a month dues. The rooms are open every night for games and reading. Aside from the literary division, which has separate meetings, the club has two sections, one section going in for athletics, the other for military drill. In connection with the military section, there is an excellent drum corps. The military company of this club is one of the best boys' companies in the country. Three or four times during the year the club gives a dance. At eighteen, the boys are eligible for the St. George's Men's Club.

At St. Bartholomew's Parish House, New York City, there is a boys' club of over six hundred, composed of boys from eleven to eighteen years old. Unlike the one at St. George's, boys of all creeds are received. The club, therefore, while supported by the church, is by no means a church club. There is no religious instruction, neither is there any attempt to use the club as a bait for the religious services of the church. New members are selected and the club is governed by a board consisting of young men from the church, appointed by the rector, together with a minority representation of the older boys of the club, named by the rector or chosen by the boys. The rooms are open for the younger boys in the afternoon for calisthenic drill, also every evening except Sundays. There are classes in dancing and squads for military drill, but athletics is the chief enthusiasm. The largest club room is fitted up with light apparatus, and on two evenings the boys are privileged to attend the men's gymnasium. On these occasions the boys receive regular class instruction. In seasonable

weather, the athletics of the gymnasium is supplemented by baseball and football. The club rooms, containing a wealth of games and reading matter, are in charge of a superintendent and two assistants.

The New York "School Clubs," of which there are several, are placed in school buildings, usually in the more crowded and neglected neighborhoods of the city. The programme is similar to that of many other clubs. The plan is being copied in several cities. In Boston a very strong committee is at work, preparatory to utilizing certain schools for this purpose.

The plan is certainly interesting from more points of view than one, and not only for the city but for the country also. It has served, for instance, to strengthen a conviction already growing, that our school buildings ought to serve a manifold social and educational purpose. As at present constructed they cannot do this well; consequently, the question of school architecture has come in for a great deal of attention. If in the city why not in the country? Baths, a gymnasium, a hall which will serve for dancing and other social purposes have been suggested as adjuncts of certain school buildings for the future.

The foregoing examples are fairly characteristic of the various types of large clubs and their methods: the "Collins" or club-room type; the institutional club, similar but more elaborate; the church club in the Parish House, recruited from the Sunday-school; the club in the Parish House, unrelated to the Sunday-school or to the church; the "school club." They are mostly located in New York City and in manufacturing towns of New England.

CHAPTER II.

GROUP CLUBS.

With the advent of the University Settlement, a new plan of club came into being. During the past ten years, these settlements have multiplied very rapidly, consequently, largely through their influence, the majority of boys' clubs throughout the country are now being formed on what may be termed the "Settlement Club Plan," or on some modification of it. It differs from the old plan radically in that the club is always very much smaller. The most characteristic plan of the "Settlement Boys' Club" is this: a group of boys, from seven to ten in number, sometimes more, ordinarily of the same gang, therefore of about the same age, all coming from the immediate neighborhood. Such a group usually meets once a week in charge of a leader. Vacancies are filled by election, as it is extremely important to get boys together who are congenial. In form, the group club is thus very simple. Its very simplicity, however, gives such a club a wide range of possibility. Games, in starting a club, are well enough, also in helping to piece out an evening, but a really successful group club is always held together by some serious interest. What this interest shall be does not really matter. A person with a loving knowledge of almost any subject can gain the interest and enthusiasm of a group of boys. It is perfectly certain, for instance, that a great deal can be done in such groups with a microscope,

provided your scientific leader adds to his knowledge, enthusiasm and a simple reverence for nature. Natural history, from the story point of view, in itself, contains a world of interesting occupations for group clubs. One leader spent the leisure time of a whole summer in collecting caterpillars and butterflies for the benefit of her little natural-history group. Another leader took lessons in cardboard sloyd before beginning her group; still another interests her boys in the study of birds, taking them on occasional Saturdays to the country. A great many groups of older boys have been held together quite easily by theatricals. This interest has proven especially successful at Hull House, Chicago, and Denison House, Boston. Some of the other subjects occupying the time of these little clubs successfully are: the study of American history by the picture method, picture pasting, passe-partout work, the making of hammocks, doll furniture, hemp-rope mats and various other occupations, more or less manual in character.

Perhaps the most interesting experiment recorded, as showing the possibilities of the group club, was made by Mr. Sanborn at South End House, Boston. It will be found in part on page 45, Part II, Appendix.

The group club depends for its success, simply from its lack of machinery, upon the personality of the leader. The leader of such a group must be intimate, but not familiar with his boys; companionable and sympathetic, but never condescending; just and without partiality, even in little things; firm, but always gentle. A group of boys offers a great moral

opportunity to such a person. If the leader is interested alike with the boys in what is being done, there is just that lack of consciousness which brings about the most natural and delightful of relationships. It is work done together, enjoyed together, consequently there is a fellowship of work. The leader is natural, the boys are natural, and the little group meeting, therefore, brings all the charm of intimacy.

After awhile, such a leader has the right to call upon the boys, for he really knows them and likes them and they feel friendly toward him. He does not go as a "district visitor," he goes as a friend. He is received as a friend. Occasionally little excursions are planned to some museum or interesting factory, or perhaps an outing to the parks or country on a Saturday afternoon or holiday. Again, he is glad to do what he can to secure proper employment for his boys after they leave school, and guide them with much wise business counsel. Thus, in all sorts of little ways, the leader gradually gets a firm grip upon his boys and becomes to them both friend and guide.

The whole drift of boys' clubs lately has been towards smaller clubs. The legitimate aim of the large club is to keep as many boys as possible off the street, giving them a cheerful room with books, games, etc. The aim of the settlement is more personal, to form a small group and through a refined, tactful leader, "with a social soul," as one man expressed it, moralize these boys by the power of friendship. The group idea, therefore, marks a distinct advance in the boys' club movement.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMBINATION CLUB.

The institutional, or club-room, type of club has features of strength which should be clearly recognized in any study of boys' clubs. The *esprit de corps* of one hundred boys, for instance, is different from the *esprit de corps* of ten. A place where a lot of other "fellers" go, just for this reason, is fascinating to the small boy. The larger club is naturally richer in traditions. There are the achievements of the baseball nine, the orchestra or glee club, the annual picnic or excursion, the summer camp, the club yell and other features which peculiarly belong to the big club, all making for tradition and thus having a tendency to hold the interest of boys in thrall. Then there are the various lessons of co-operation, which can be more effectively taught in a large club.

A combination of the big club and group club, therefore, seems the wisest form of organization. As a matter of fact, some of the large clubs are beginning to sub-divide for special purposes, — notably the Boys' Club at 161 Avenue A, already described. On the other hand, in interesting contrast, many of the settlements, starting group after group, as fit leaders were found, have eventually evolved some scheme of federation; it may be simply to bring all the boys together once or twice a week for games, a business meeting or for some other purpose; or, perhaps, only once a month for an entertainment.

Of course, it should be said that, lying midway between the large club and the group club, there are a great many examples of clubs having a membership of seventy-five (more or less), connected with churches, settlements, industrial schools, town halls or in rented rooms, under the management, as a rule, of volunteer leaders. There is a club of this sort at the Social Union, Cambridge. Another example is the Ellis Memorial Club, 13 Carver Street, Boston. Both of them are admirably conducted clubs. There are also good clubs of this sort at East Side House, New York City, and two at Goodrich House, Cleveland. These are only a few examples of this type of club out of two-score or more known to the writer.

The natural clientage of the boys' club is, of course, largely made up of boys living in the congested quarters of our great cities and the boys in factory towns, — boys most of whom are peculiarly dependent, therefore, upon some such scheme for their social well-being. The group club alone, as some critics have pointed out, meeting once a week, does not offer a sufficiently steady, consistent influence in the lives of these boys. In providing boys' clubs, some place should be furnished, if possible, for the tens of thousands of boys who, as a matter of fact, spend nearly every evening outside of their homes. The big club, open every night, with reading and game rooms, does in a measure meet this need.

Certain of the larger settlements and social unions meet this need, also, by providing something for their boys for nearly every evening of the week. But the

settlements also go a step further than the large boys' clubs, pure and simple, in still another direction. It seems hardly wise, and in the long run hardly good for the boy himself, to organize with him alone in view. The father, the mother, the sister, — in short, the family, should be taken into account. Boys' clubs have frequently been criticised as weaning boys from their homes. This principle of making the family the unit of organization meets this criticism, and is growing into a fairly clear and strong conviction in the social settlement movement.

At Lincoln House, Boston, for instance, the boys' club is one of many clubs representing all the factors in the family, from the child in the kindergarten to the mother in the women's club and the father in the men's club. The boy finds himself not only in a boys' democracy, but in a larger democracy wherein is his sister, or perhaps an older brother, or father, or mother. He sees that his mother is treated with courtesy and respect. The whole drift of such an organization, therefore, is to teach him greater respect for his family. He also has a greater interest and respect for his own club when he sees a minstrel show, perhaps gotten up by the young men's club, or witnesses the theatricals of the young women's club, or when he learns that his father has gone to a lecture at his club, or that his brother or sister have gone to a dance given by their club. His own club seems better, and he respects it more, because he feels the atmosphere communicated by all these other functions going on under the same roof. This we believe to be the ideal setting for a boys' club.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IMPORTANCE OF HANDICRAFT WORK.

We have spoken of the important place the programme occupies in group clubs. The occupation of boys in large clubs is a matter of no less vital concern.* The club run merely "to keep the boys off the street," a classic phrase, not only undervalues its opportunities, but invites disaster by simply importing street conditions. The gymnasium, with its competitive drills and indoor meets, its basketball, boxing, fencing, single stick, etc., the theatricals, orchestras, glee clubs, choral singing, minstrel shows, military drills, vaudeville entertainments, reading, games, — all these and other features have proven important factors to the success of many different clubs.

There is another large interest, however, which, in the estimation of the writer, is a legitimate field of boys' club effort, — handicraft work.† The making of baskets, hemp-rope mats, hammocks, fish nets, scroll-saw work, wood carving and many things of a handicraft nature have been taken up with more or less success in numerous group clubs. Industrial classes were planned by Mr. Collins for his club twenty years ago. Of necessity, they were crude. The writer has something in mind a long way in advance of all this. St. George's School and the Hebrew Technical School,

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* For more detailed information, see page 21, Part II.

† The writer wishes here, supplementing these classes, simply to draw attention to the importance of handicraft work in boys' clubs. For a fuller discussion of the question, see the companion Monograph on "The Lincoln House Play-Work System," No. 5.

New York City, are examples showing the possibilities of this work. At St. George's School there is a first-rate system of hand work for boys of different ages. The spirit of the school is fine; interesting occupation (always the most effective sort of discipline) insures order. The boys are no different in appearance or in character from any of the boys found in the New York boys' clubs; indeed, they are excellent examples of what may be termed the "boys' club constituency." Furthermore, the splendid fellowship which pervades the place makes it little different, socially, from a boys' club.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TEACHING.

IT is most interesting to note, that fifty odd club leaders reported that there was no formal moral or religious instruction in their respective clubs. One man — a leader of a church club, too — fairly expressed the opinion of the majority. He said, in homely fashion: "I do not believe in mixing things." Almost without exception, those with whom I have talked and corresponded believe that in a club representing a constituency of diverse religious beliefs, it is not only unwise, but wrong to attempt religious instruction. Nevertheless, all, I believe, feel more or less keenly that this boys' club work is, or should be, moral in its motives and results. Most leaders do not think it wise to attempt moral instruction, because they do not see their way clear to making it effective. All, I am sure, feel that their club is profitless unless of definite ethical value to the boys. One correspondent expresses it very well: "The club ought to stand for training in co-operation, under leadership. The apparent object of the club may be anything that is both worthy and tangible, its real object must be to teach boys, by experience, the moral law, and to train them to live in an age of association."

CHAPTER II.

PROGRAMME.

Only games, occupations, etc., actually reported as having been tried, with more or less success, in boys' clubs are set down in this chapter. The classification is made for convenience, and does not pretend to be scientific. Out of about forty reports of the most popular games, checkers invariably came first, crokinole usually second, animal and other piece puzzles third. The old-fashioned games were nearly always placed at the head of the list.

Many reported that the dramatic performances and the preliminary rehearsals were the most interesting features of the year's programme; others, debating. Again, a great many place athletics first, particularly games, such as football, basketball, baseball and handball. Still others regard handicrafts as most effective in persistent and prolonged interest.

The conclusion is evident from these reports that most of these club occupations have their place; what to do, depending very much upon the boys, the club equipment and club rooms, and the tastes of club leaders. In the multiplicity of activities which a large club inevitably takes on, the greatest care, as many club leaders have suggested, should be taken, to avoid conflict with school duties.

As monographs in this series are already published on games and handicrafts, I will simply append the list without further comment.

GAMES.

Table Games.

Checkers.
Chess.
Crokinole.
Carroms.
Whist.
Parchesi.
Lotto.
Pool.
Parlor Pool.
Ping Pong.
Table Tennis.
Authors.
Tiddledy Winks.
Shuffle Board.
Pillow Dex.
Bagatelle.
Dominoes.
Cribbage.
Tivoli.
Piece Puzzles.
Flags of all Nations,
Nellie Bly,
The White Squadron and similar games.
Backgammon.

Old-Fashioned Games.

Bean Bag.
Very Solemn Occasion.
Jenkins Up.
Going to Jerusalem.
Boston.
Old Parcel Sale.
Post Office.
Beast, Bird or Fish.
Stage Coach.

Teacher and Class.
Spinning the Platter.
Blow the Feather.
Blind Man's Buff.
Donkey.
Button, Button.
Charades.
Shadow Pictures.
Peanut Games.
Scout.
Nantucket.
Three Deep.
Potato Race (with a spoon).
Quoits.
Menagerie (Trick Game).
Mesmerism " "

Guessing Games.

Characters.
Proverbs.
Tea Kettle.
Geographical.
Questions and Answers.
History Games.
Anagrams.

Manual Occupations.

Bamboo Work.
Bead Work.
Boat Making.
Book-binding.
Box Making.
Cabinet Making.
Clay Modelling.
China Painting.
Cooking.
Cardboard Sloyd.

Cobbling.
Drawing: pencil, charcoal, chalk, India ink.
Electro-mechanics.
Fancy Work (little boys).
Fret Work.
Leather Work.
Lettering.
Mop Making.
Metal Work.
Mechanical Drawing.
Netting: hammocks, fish nets, etc.
Passe-partout.
Printing.
Paper Sloyd.
Poster Work.
Rope Mat Making.
Scrap Book Making.
Sewing and Fancy Work.
Toy Furniture Making.
Venetian Iron Work.
Weaving: (baskets, different materials; furniture, tables, chairs, bookcases, etc.)
Water Color.
Whittling.
Wood Carving.
Wood Sloyd.

Athletics.

Gymnasium: Apparatus work, wrestling, boxing, single stick, fencing, etc.
Games: Basketball, handball, squash, etc.*
Military Drills with Drum and Fife Corps.
Dancing.
Indoor meets: Athletic contests and competitions within the club itself and with rival teams; basketball, base-ball, football and cricket (sometimes under the auspices of Inter-club Leagues).

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*"One Hundred Gymnastic Games," Printer, George H. Ellis, "Boston, 141 Franklin Street," 1897.

Excursions.

To Museums.
Historic Places.
Factories.
Also, Outings.
Sketching Trips.
Circus Parties, etc.
Bicycle Rides, Straw Rides, etc.

PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS.

(By the Boys Themselves.)

Plays.

Operettas.

Minstrel Shows.

Vaudeville Entertainments: Buck Dancing, Coon and Sentimental Songs, Declamations, Monologues (sometimes original), Dialogues (Comic), Sketches.

Living Pictures: Shadow Pictures.

Musical Entertainments: Chorus, Glee, Quartette, Duet and Solo Singing (sometimes, through the coaching of professionals — very fine).

Historical Impersonations and Tableaux: —

1. Different Nationalities in our Country.
2. Story of Esther.
3. Great Men of our Country.
4. Knighthood and Chivalry, with selections from Idylls of the King, the Talisman, and Vision of Sir Launfal.
5. Trade and Trade Songs.
6. Story of our Flag.

Oratorical Contests.

Declamation Contests.

Competitive Debates — Inter-club.

Intellectual.

Debating.

" Miniature Congress."

Mock Trials.

Mock Nominating Conventions.
Quotation Parties.
Club Magazines (by the boys).
Parliamentary Law.
Current Events.
Literary Study.
Political Economy.
City History.
American History.
Natural History Study — "Collections."
Elocution.
Experiments in Physics, Chemistry and Electricity.

Talks or Stories (sometimes with the stereopticon) of Industry, Municipal Undertakings, American Heroes, Biographies of Self-Made Men, Adventures of Great Travellers, Labor, etc.

Spelling, Reading and Arithmetic (taken up in clubs, in most cases, where night-schools are not accessible).

Shorthand, Book-keeping, etc.

CHAPTER III.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

In the majority of clubs which I have studied, there is partial self-government, but there are no genuinely self-governed clubs that I know. A few such trials are on record, but they met the fate of so many of the clubs organized wholly by boys: the first blush of romance gone, the enthusiasm from the first fling of "independence" over, there was satiety of the license and pleasures so eagerly sought, failure to meet the rent, jealousies over an election, with no leader of force at hand, inspired by an unselfish, high purpose — the end, failure. But while there are no genuinely self-governed clubs, there are many which in varying degrees approach self-government; and the burden of testimony is certainly in favor of introducing as much of it as the circumstances will justify. The principle is undoubtedly a true one; the application of it to a particular situation, requires wisdom.

(*a.*) The first step toward self-government has usually been formal — a constitution and by-laws, in some cases representing the unaided effort of the boys.

(*b.*) Next, perhaps, rules relating to order have been made in which the boys took more or less of the initiative, the degree depending, of course, upon the temperament of the leader and the advancement of the boys themselves.

(*c.*) In some clubs the members not only make rules but take pride in maintaining order themselves;

and this is not done either in a priggish way, by a few of the good boys; it has been accomplished rather in an impersonal way, by the restraining influence of the "club spirit," the most real sign of healthy self-government.

(*d.*) Another phase of self-government, — fixing penalties, to outsiders, perhaps, the most interesting expression of the principle. It is surprising in how many clubs this form of discipline is exercised by the boys. It is sometimes done by an informal conference of the boys, but more often in a formal meeting and after much debate.

The third method is really very interesting, — trial by jury. Two correspondents have furnished me with such excellent sketches of trials held in their respective clubs, that it has seemed wise to quote them; this I do, and the more readily since they give an admirable picture, so hard to get, of the inner life and play of motives in boys' clubs. (See page 38, Appendix.)

(*e.*) Almost invariably the boys are allowed to elect their own officers. In the case of members, the rule is not so general. The ordinary methods employed are: first, allowing the boys to elect their own members; second, reserving the power of veto in such elections; third, by a waiting list, the names proposed by the boys in open meeting, the vacancies filled in rotation; fourth, this latter principle of recruiting members is again modified in some clubs by leaders reserving the privilege of veto, and the right to place names on the waiting list themselves.

(*f.*) In nearly all clubs the boys pay dues. It has been, apparently, a common practice to allow the boys to fix the amount; this varies from four to twenty-five cents a month. In some clubs the habit is to pay each evening, in others, at the end of the month. In nearly every club, there is a rule fixing a penalty for those in arrears. In certain clubs this penalty is very severe (fixed by the boys themselves) namely, expulsion for those who are behind with their dues from three to eight weeks. Club leaders are almost unanimous in the conclusion that fees are wise, promote self-respect among the boys, impart a feeling of ownership and strengthen the *esprit de corps* of the club.

(*g.*) In nearly all boys' clubs, whatever their size, there are business meetings, sometimes informal, more frequently very formal, accompanied by much parade of parliamentary law. Most club leaders now taboo business meetings held as an interest or end in themselves, or merely for the practice of parliamentary law. Such meetings too frequently lead to mere talk, give the boys too much latitude to "fool." For a club to devote a whole evening to "business," simply because their constitution provides for it, is futile and, moreover, morally enervating. There should be real business to discuss, plans to talk over, which the members hold to be important. When there is "real" business to be transacted, formal speeches should be encouraged. The best debate, among boys, I have ever heard occurred in just such a business meeting. The subject under discussion was of genuine interest to the boys. There was considerable difference of opinion; eager-

ness on the part of the boys (and they spoke well, too) who, in the regular debating club, were very slow of speech or wouldn't take part at all. For me to suggest items of business would be foolish. Each club, from its own activities, must determine them. A principle evolved from experience, not altogether pleasant, may, however, be stated: in these meetings, discuss real, not sham business, unrelated to the practical life of the club. When your boys have finished discussing their business (if to the point, the more discussion the better) teach them to promptly adjourn.

CHAPTER IV.

HOLDING OUR OLDER BOYS.

The notion of holding the older boys, or young men, hardly came within the plan of the first clubs. As a matter of fact, no serious attempt was made to organize them, — to meet their enlarging needs. To-day we find boys' club leaders take a keen interest in the question of "graduate" clubs. Even the clubs started on the "Collins plan," — clubs organized exclusively for boys, are providing some scheme of organization for the older boys, or are thinking seriously of doing so. It represents the logic of experience. It seems almost wasteful of effort, and cruel beside, to inculcate the love of club life in boys and then set them adrift, by not providing a suitable plan of amusement and work. As a matter of fact, some older boys do hang on, doing much the same things as the little boys; but this happens rarely with the energetic, bright ones, — the very boys capable of contributing much to the *esprit de corps* of a club. This deepening feeling that the young men's club is the logical next step of the boys' club, and indeed an integral part of it, aside from the teaching of experience, has been influenced by the settlement movement, comprehending in its plan, as it does, young men as well as boys.

A separate organization, then, for the older boys, closely related to — more, an integral part of the boys' club (if possible, under the same roof, so that the

potency of its traditions shall not be lost), is not only the wise next step to plan for, but it should be successfully accomplished. Success at this point is a fair test of the value of the boys' club itself.

What portion of the older boys we may expect to hold is, of course, a difficult question. We know boys do drop out for excellent reasons, even when there is a young men's club to which they are eligible. There are removals, evening work, the night school; again, some boys find more helpful association elsewhere. These latter reasons are not discouraging, for no pride of club should prevent a leader from feeling anything but joy on discovering that, though gone from him, his boys are better off in their new surroundings. If, by any chance, such boys have been individually stimulated with an ambition to make the most of themselves, and have gone out into the midst of their new companionships possessed with the club's most valuable gift, the "art of co-operation for high ends," we may well rejoice.

Unfortunately, we cannot always find such comfort. Many boys drop out, not because they have found better things elsewhere, but because they have lost interest in the club's only appeal to them — amusement. While in the club (we are not here trying to place the blame), they played the games, went to the entertainments, perhaps took part in some; but no real interest, penetrating the surface, met them with its convincing argument. The amusements of the club held them captive for a while; but, with the donning of long trousers, badge of the "big boy,"

work and a little money to spend, the manifold attractions which a city has to offer, gradually loosened club ties and presently they "dropped out."

Certain it is that boys' clubs in the city cannot hope to compete, and it is just as well, with the amusement programme of the theatre and the multiplicity of similar agencies, so inviting to the majority of young men. I am not decrying games and the host of other amusements in boys' clubs, but only the too great importance that is frequently given them, overshadowing, as they do, far too often the more serious features of the programme. The gist of the matter is this: there will come a time when club amusements are sure to pall, and the more quickly if we do not relate the boys to some solid interest; and this not mechanically, by merely offering classes, but to an interest which finds a genuine response in the tastes and capacities of the boys themselves. We must start with amusements no doubt, but surely not end there.

A correspondent puts this very well. He writes:

"Most boys should be met in the beginning by simple influences, extended recreatively, — not by the restraint of a training which would of necessity forbid, to some degree, the constant, intimate, personal attachment, attained in the practice of what I have seen come about here, — not from a pre-arranged plan of our own, but from a patient adaptation to existing circumstances and conditions, and with, all the while, the watching and hoping for the next upward opportunity. If we may in this way come through satisfying wants to supplying needs, we shall be advancing towards club achievement."

In the kindergarten (beside many other valuable lessons in altruism) we teach the little children at the Christmas season (and at other times, too) to make and give presents to others, rather than to receive them. Most of us, very illogically, go into our boys' clubs and straightway forget the lesson. We spend our strength and exercise what wit we may possess to please, forgetting that the boys are there not merely to absorb what we have to give them, — forgetting, in fact, that the relation is rightly reciprocal, one of co-partnership; that the club is properly a boys' democracy, with benefits to be shared and obligations to be met.

The working principle of the "Boys' Junior Republic," however much or little it may be applied to boys' clubs, certainly shows what boys have to give and are willing to give. It is, then, from co-partnership that we have much to hope; from co-operating with our boys, and they with us, for the accomplishment of worthy ends, not abstract but specific, that we have much to hope. The strenuousness of club management will be greatly modified, when we teach our young men to share the burden with us. This does not come about in a day; it must be taught in simple fashion, way back in the boys' clubs, beginning with the youngest and gradually developed.

So much for the method, now a little about its spirit. And first, should we not take our older boys a little more into our confidence? The motive that inspired a Dennison, a Toynbee, enkindles all of us. It was not merely a belief in democracy; it was a

desire to live out the spirit of democracy — to share life. If their fine spirit inspires us, if we enjoy social service, if life is richer to us for what we do for our boys, be it little or much, why should we not share this motive force with them, give them a chance to feel the fascination of it all? If club life means co-partnership, so far as it is possible, it is clearly our duty to do this. Nearly all of us are familiar with examples of young fellows getting up a benefit, a raffle, a ball, an entertainment to make money for some needy comrade. We all know, too, how much pleasure they got out of it. Does not this bit of experience show us that social service has "holding power" for our older boys?

To conclude: We cannot expect to "hold our older boys" by pampering them. There must be a mutuality of benefit and obligation, expressed in various forms of social service in order to make a club permanently attractive. Just how to bring this about is hard to say, since each club is a problem in itself. A few suggestions, however, may prove helpful. I shall assume that there is a proper proportion of play and work in the club's programme; that the principle of self-government has been applied in various ways; that the leaders are disposed to take the boys into their confidence; that, through athletic and debating contests or in other ways, club loyalty is being established and traditions are forming.

In inculcating the love of social service and the art of co-operation, there are two simple ways right at hand: first, to utilize the older boys as "helpers" in

the younger clubs in every way that is practicable; and, second, to persuade them to take an interest in seeking fellows in the neighborhood, outside their circle, who stand in need of just such opportunities as the club offers.

The third way is not so simple: To interest the club in everything of a municipal nature which concerns the neighborhood, and to take action whenever it is expedient. For instance, if there is a back alley or house that is unsanitary, let a report be made at the club, and then let the proper committee see to it that it is rectified; or, at least, to make a severe trial. If a playground, bathhouse or any other improvement is really needed in the neighborhood, let the club secure all the important facts possible and, co-operating with other organizations, present their case at the proper time and place. In studying the municipal resources of the neighborhood, the needs of the neighborhood, and in taking action looking towards supplying those needs, there is a well-nigh exhaustless supply of co-operative activities.

Such a club becomes worth while, has dignity and the young men are proud to belong to it. They may still take a real interest in their military company, debating or literary society, whist circle, athletic contests or dances; but the important thing is that, in each case, the real interest, — the thing that "holds" them and makes the club valuable to them, is the realization that they have become increasingly valuable to the club.

While I have had to idealize in this chapter in no

small measure, instead of recording the actual experience of particular clubs, still we have this consolation, that we know the road and, although the journey be long, still our faces are set in the right direction.

APPENDIX.

Self-Government — Trial by Jury.

The court, as a method of government in the ——— Boys' Club was the result of two needs that arose in the spring of 189–. Owing to our extreme poverty, it was impossible to pay the number of assistants requisite to maintain order, nor could we spend money for the necessary equipment to give the boys more entertainment. It was thought by the Superintendent that a number of officers, consisting of a President, two Vice-Presidents, an Attorney-General and twelve jurors, with semi-annual elections, would give a zest to the life of the club and assist in maintaining the discipline as nothing else could do, and with absolutely no additional expense.

The first election was held on the 10th of March, 1894, and was preceded by caucuses for the selection of names for opposition ballots. Since that time the method has proved its utility and has been maintained.

THE FIRST TRIAL. — The first trial, under the new method of government, came off about two weeks after the election. It was a peculiar case, the culmination of a series of practical jokes which had been perpetrated in the club. There was nothing bad in it, yet the board of officers felt that it was detrimental to the discipline of the club, and that these jokes should be discontinued. The case as presented by the Attorney-General was "The —— Boys' Club *vs.* Bud Burdell." The incident of the case was the smashing of an egg on the club-room floor, and the fact that the Superintendent could in no way find out who was responsible for it. The case was placed in the hands of the President and Attorney-General, with instructions to ferret the matter out, and bring it to trial. On the night set for trial a summons was issued to Burdell, and several other boys, to appear in the court room before the tribunal.

There was no disposition to resist the power of the court; in fact, there seemed to be a desire on the part of the culprits to see what would happen. The court was held in a separate room; only the members who were charged with the offence, the witnesses, officers and judges were allowed to be present. There was a slight disposition to levity at first, but it was quickly checked by the President, a boy of considerable influence with the members. The twelve judges, seated around the three sides of a large table, showed every sign that they appreciated their position; gravity of countenance and seriousness of deportment set upon them as naturally as if they were in a real court of justice.

The prisoner, charged with the responsibility of the act, was placed in the dock, and the Attorney-General proceeded in his examination somewhat in the following manner:—

Attorney-General.—"What made ye do it?"

Prisoner.—"I didn't do it."

Attorney-General.—"Once more," with a deepening frown, "what made ye do it?"

Prisoner.—"Well," hesitating, "I didn't do all of it."

Attorney-General.—"Who helped you?"

Prisoner.—(Very doggedly) "I ain't goin' ter tell."

The Superintendent then explained to the court, that the Attorney-General could hardly expect the prisoner to give evidence to incriminate himself, and that the best way to proceed would be to bring forward the witnesses and prove the case against him. The Attorney-General then called the First Witness, who said that he felt a boy brush up against him rather roughly, and as he swung around, felt something heavy in his pocket. He reached in his hand and found an egg there. In answer to the question from the Attorney-General, he said that he did not bring the egg into the club, and knew nothing of its being there until he felt it in his pocket.

Attorney-General.—"What did ye do with the egg?"

First Witness.—"I put it inter another boy's pocket."

Attorney-General.—"What was *his* name?" (said with becoming severity.)

First Witness gave the name; this boy being among the witnesses which the Attorney-General had summoned, was put on the stand.

Attorney-General.—"What do *you* know about this?"

Second Witness.—"I felt somebody's hand in my pocket and turned around just in time to see Jim (the First Witness) push into the crowd, then found the egg in my pocket."

Attorney-General.—"What did you do with it?"

Second Witness.—"I put it inter Bill's pocket;" indicating another of the boys who had been called as a witness.

Attorney-General (to Third Witness).—"When you found the egg in *your* pocket, what did you do with it?"

Third Witness.—"I took it and went to put it into 'Bud's' pocket, he didn't have no pocket, and so it fell onto the floor."

Attorney-General (rather persuasively).—"Do you think you are the one to blame for the egg breaking?"

Third Witness.—"No."

Attorney-General.—"Why not?"

Third Witness.—"Cause he brought the egg into the club and I wanted ter get it on to him."

The prisoner, put on the stand, testified that he got the egg in a store where he worked, and brought it down to the club for a joke, that the joke was to get it in a boy's pocket, and then have somebody fall up against him and smash the egg.

At this point, the court dismissed the witnesses, placed the prisoner in charge of the janitor, and considered the question of sentence. In the ——— Boys' Club, each of the jurors writes on a separate slip of paper the sentence which he thinks should be imposed upon the culprit, and the average of these sentences is the penalty which the prisoner has to pay. In this case the sentence was suspension for two months from club privileges. The prisoner was then notified of the decision of the court, his ticket taken away from him, and he was sent out of the club. It seemed to the Superintendent a rather severe sentence for a boyish

prank, but the lesson was a salutary one, and it was necessary to hold court only four times for the balance of the season, and then only for trivial offenses.

The following winter Burdell came back to the club and proved a good member. During the winter he made a brave rescue of a boy from drowning, and was presented with a new suit of clothes, which he very much needed.

THE CASE OF BILL FRAWLEY. — A particularly interesting case, inasmuch as it was a case of genuine discipline, occurred in December, 189 . A disturbing element existed in the club, many petty cases of insubordination arose, and there seemed to be a disposition on the part of the "——— Street Gang" to "run" things. Matters finally reached such a pass, that it was determined to make an example of the next offender and see if a better order of things could not be established. The December election had just taken place, and the board of officers were impressed with the idea that great responsibility rested upon them. Among the jurors who had just been elected was the boy who was the subject of this case. The night after the election, he was caught in some act of insubordination, calling the janitor names, I believe, and his name was handed to the Attorney-General. Witnesses were summoned, and the court held the next evening. After an interesting trial, in which the prisoner claimed the right, as juror, to sit on his own case, he was found guilty and sentenced to suspension from the club for one week. Upon his return to the club he assumed an arrogant air and determined to get "square" with the "fellers that downed him." It was but a short time after that he was brought into court again, this time on the charge of snowballing the janitor, smoking cigarettes at the door and general insubordination. Again, while found guilty, his friends rallied to his support and brought pressure to bear upon the jurors, so that he was sentenced to only three weeks' suspension. Upon his return he professed regret for the way he had acted and promised to do better. He conducted himself properly for some time

At the March election, his friends, that is, those who had subordinated justice to their personal regard for this boy, were defeated and new members elected, who were not members of his gang. This seemed to arouse his ire as well as the ire of those who had been defeated, and they determined to be revenged. For several days rumors came to me of boys being attacked by the "——Street Gang," and finally another crowd was organized to meet them. To one who has never seen a gang of twenty or thirty boys armed with sticks, stones and catapults starting out to do battle with a rival gang, it would hardly seem possible that there could exist, in a civilized community, such an apparently lawless set of youngsters. Most of the members of each of these gangs were members of the Boys' Club, and one night when their battle had been particularly vicious, they came to the club, armed with their various implements of warfare. The Superintendent ruled that all should leave them in his charge. He proceeded to have the boys deliver them up to the janitor; all went well until Frawley was reached; he refused to give his up and attempted to escape from the club.

The Superintendent had taken this method of disarmament, intending to reconcile the two factions, and did not propose that the other members should see his authority defied, so he ordered the stick taken away from Frawley, and that he be held for the court. The court was immediately convened that evening, the prisoner put on trial, and as it was the third time that he had been on trial, the judges voted unanimously to expel him from the club forever. He was notified of his sentence and sent out of the club in disgrace. No sentence so severe as this has been passed since. The matter has undoubtedly outgrown the recollection of the present members, but the tradition remains, that jurors must not be lenient, and that to be brought before the court is a very serious matter.

—A Boston Correspondent.

Two cases of Trial by Jury reported by a New York Head Worker. In the first case there were two parties

in the club, the one (the smaller one) consisting of Jewish boys, tactful, preferring debate to athletics, ambitious for social ascendency and careful of their personal appearance. The other party was composed of more typical boys, — headlong for what they wanted, indifferent to the intellectual and preferring to leave collars at home and shed their coats at a meeting. The adherents of each party sat together. The better behaved boys were more selfish than the others and did not enter into the——— House sentiment as did the others. They took a "superior" pose. In a discussion one evening one of the "goody goody" party accused the leader of the other side of "rowdy" tactics. The plaintiff was told that his charge would be met outside the meeting room. The result was an affray after meeting, in which the stronger boys, and the larger party, thrashed their enemies, who tried to escape. Because of the disparity in numbers and physical ability, the assailants enacted the part of bullies. At the next meeting I called the matter up for consideration. A trial was called for, I being made the judge. The proceedings took the form of a police court session. It soon appeared that of the retreating party but two were bodily harmed. Of the attacking party only three took fighting part. One other egged on the three to violence, whilst he, himself, kept out of danger. The boy who led the attack and inflicted the most injury upon the defeated party was the biggest fellow in the club, the best boxer and, in general conduct, about the squarest, most aboveboard boy in the club. The "good" boys had been rubbing in their irritating goodness and superiority for a long time. There was much to be ventilated on both sides, and both sides wanted a thorough ventilation of the affair, and of all that led up to it. The testimony of the eleven witnesses, the defence of the accused and the common attitude of all the boys in court were all superior to anything I have ever seen in a police court. I wish there was a record to show the fair play, the disposition for justice, the humor, the directness of purpose

exhibited by that body of twenty-seven boys. However, the result was as follows: The plaintiffs were censured for their partisan action in the club, and their leader for his unproven charge of "rowdy tactics," made against his opponent in a discussion upon the floor of the club room. Two of the assaulting party were instructed to rise in their places and apologize to their victims for the assault. The conduct of him who, whilst holding himself beyond harm, had excited and egged on the more active assaulters, was denounced as cowardly in the extreme, wherefore, he was condemned to two months' suspension from the privileges of the club. The two called upon to apologize rose like little men and apologized frankly and fully for their action. After that night only two of the complaining party continued their membership in the club, and the mean boy, who liked to make fights and keep out of them himself, did not return after his suspension.

The court's decision was greeted with applause, and the event cleared the air, and put the club on a stronger footing.

The second case was where the Juniors attended a concert and ball given for the benefit of the ——— House Endowment Fund. At the business meeting of the Juniors, immediately following the entertainment, the President of the club requested another member to preside, whilst he spoke upon a subject requiring special consideration. He proceeded to state that on the occasion of the entertainment, four members of the club had acted in a manner to discredit the club; that one, whom he named, was intoxicated, had danced indecently, and had attempted to turn off the gas. He named the particular offender and asked that he be expelled. The case was, by vote, referred to a court as in the first-described case and again I acted as judge. The accused elected to act as his own counsel, but, after all the witnesses had been examined, made such a poor defence that one of his friends asked permission to represent the accused, and did so with courage and ability, contending that the club

had no jurisdiction over a member in his individual conduct, beyond the club premises; that the club was acting unfairly in charging one member only, for an offence alleged to have been committed by four; and that the conduct of the accused, had it been of an indecent or disorderly character, would have been suppressed by the proprietor of the hall, or the police. His cross-examination of the witnesses would have done credit to a professional lawyer. Here was a boy acting for another from the rare sentiment to assist the "under dog in a fight." However, the case went to the jury of boys, who had not been witnesses of the offence charged.

They retired for about fifteen minutes and came back with a verdict of guilty from all but one. The court asked the objecting juror what reasons he had for standing out against his fellow jurymen. His answer was: "He is my friend, I shan't find him guilty." With the verdict was a recommendation for mercy. As the offender was a new member and this his first offence, the court was glad to discharge him after making him severely acquainted with the gentlemanly sentiments of his fellow-members and their reprobation of anything which might reflect upon the conduct of the Club or the character of the House. The court added its sense of the manly and generous stand the boy had taken, who had volunteered to defend the accused. The lesson was salutary. Events of this kind, justly treated with due mercy, but without weakness, strengthen the character of a club and give it a disciplinary regimen very necessary, in my mind.

Group Clubs.

I gave myself conscientiously to amusing a group of boys with table games for several months before I discovered them to be worthy of much better things. Then the discovery came by the merest accident.

The boys were twelve and thirteen years of age. There were seven of them and they came to my room once a week. Their ignorance of the commonest facts of country life (I

have heard a squirrel called a young monkey) led me one night to show them a dusty natural history collection I had made when a very small boy. Instantly it was to them as if they were in a fairy palace. The specimens, — mainly insects and birds' eggs, — were battered, worm-eaten, and discolored; but my boys' eyes were full of wonder, and reverence was in the touch of their hands. They were stirred with a new enthusiasm that boded much good. I saw that I should have to rack my brains no more for amusements; that our meetings were at last to answer a real purpose.

The collection alone, petty as it was, held the attention of the boys for several nights. Then, as it was winter, I tried to tide the precious interest over to spring by planting seeds in sawdust and sand, and getting them to do the same. Early in March I was able to show tree buds and catkins as trophies of walks in the country, and a little later, live frogs, turtles and snakes. As soon as bird-nesting time arrived it was easy to make a striking display every week. On occasional Saturdays I took the boys into the country and there they became infected with the egg-collecting fever.

I love Thoreau and I love Burroughs and all the rest of the outdoor fraternity. I longed to share my pleasure in them with the boys, but lacked the moral courage to make so risky an experiment. Finally, I remembered the charming bird biographies of Olive Thorne Miller, and ventured on them. It was a happy venture. This so far emboldened me that I read them, in quick succession, parts of Bradford Torrey, Bolles, Abbot, Burroughs and even Thoreau. Of these, Burroughs, I think, was the favorite. That the finer shades of thought or the strictly literary qualities of these writings were apparent to the boys, I do not for a moment affirm. Of course I had to choose chapters wisely, and avoid altogether or simplify ideas which were taken in and the fresh out-of-door flavor was appreciated.

This past summer, the study and collecting have gone on very much as in the year before, except that the nature-love is now 'inside the skin.' This it is that makes me

glad. The boys no longer wait for me to take the initiative. They take electric car rides into the country by themselves, when they can raise dimes. When there are no dimes, they walk out through dismal city streets to such country as is to be found at the end of two or three miles — tame enough, as most of us know.

Those of us who have faith that no good influence, however weak, is vain, as well as those of us who are Wordsworthians enough to believe in the special ethical value of a love of nature, will feel it is really no small thing for the child of a crowded city neighborhood to grow to manhood with such a love within his soul. "Nature never did betray the heart that loved her." In these hours of rollicking country research are life and food for future years.

ALVAN F. SANBORN,
South End House Bulletin.

"In Mrs. ———'s Club of small boys, very bad but very interesting, which meets once a week, the programme is elastic. The boys come to enjoy themselves comfortably off the streets. They are rough and ready. Quick sympathy, responsive humor and prompt discipline are required in the conductor. The boys have a so-called 'business' meeting to vote upon the suggestion of Mrs. ——— and to take in new members. Then they have a good time — boxing, roller skating, all sorts of games, reciting their adventures — fights with other gangs, bedeviling 'cops,' home rebellions, etc., etc.; all confided to Mrs. ———. As they trust her implicitly — neither parent, police officer, Sunday-School teacher, she is, in fact, their confessor, friend and advisor, stimulating every good impulse, inspiring them to fair play, honesty and truthfulness, and ejecting promptly any chap who brings street tactics into the club. One chosen head-boy is her lieutenant, and after him all are loyal. The nucleus of the club numbers a dozen. They maintain its now good character. The others are, generally,

on probation, coming in as they prove themselves desirable. These boys thus learn, early, somewhat of the club idea, and acquire some sense of co-operation with their elders."

* * *

"The one thing which my experience with boys has impressed upon me as vitally necessary to the success of their clubs is that any undertaking which is begun, either through their own impulse or the advice of their older friends, should be pushed through at any cost.

"I do not care so much what it is that engages their energies if they are only held to the aim with which they started, are obliged to pay all dues and to feel the consequences of their misdoings and failures, even if it takes a year or two to bring it about. An infallible memory and a devotion for the most accurate kind of justice, seems to me the chief requisites for the leader of a boys' club."

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